

## Text of the League's Address

Continued from First Page.

that seems to be the real hope of the peoples of Europe, and I tell you frankly I have not been able to do so, because when the thought tries to crowd itself into speech the profound emotion of the thing is too much; speech will not carry. I have felt the tragedy of the hope of those suffering peoples.

It is tragedy because it is a hope which cannot be realized in its perfection, and yet I have felt besides its tragedy, its compulsion, its compulsion upon every living man to exercise every influence that he has to the utmost to see that as little as possible of that hope is disappointed, because if men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to their self-possession and see to it that the League of Nations is not a dead letter, but a living man to the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope, and, therefore, no mercy.

**"Voice" Lacks Ring.**

Now it is doubtful, perhaps, if the voice had any sort of ring to it last night in the Metropolitan Opera House. Although the audience was just as large as the place could possibly accommodate, there was much lack of interest in the League of Nations. It was brief, fitful and devoid of spontaneous enthusiasm. The same phenomenon was observable last night as caught the attention at the Boston meeting a week ago—an immense throng, polite, interested in the League of Nations, but lacking in the fire which the conviction of a great cause is said to stir in men's hearts.

This was all the more remarkable last night because the audience was generally believed to be made up in part of the League of Nations. Wilson's plan. There had been stories at least that some care had been taken in the distribution of tickets—not to serve them out to Democrats, but to make sure that advocates of the British-Wilson plan were not left out in the cold.

Yet, despite this, when the President entered upon the stage at 8:35 P. M., having come directly from his special train at the Pennsylvania station, the audience was not in the least stirred. The two horse-drawn carriages and the two horse-drawn carriages that piled tier upon tier through three galleries to the roof received him with only a moderate greeting. It was quite friendly, but the applause and handclapping neither rang loudly nor endured long. It lasted, in fact, less than a minute despite the stimulation of the band and the incense of the President's presence.

Cleveland H. Dodge, the chairman. Subsequently, through Mr. Wilson's speech, this interesting restraint was noted—an occasional pat of approval, an occasional half burst of applause.

**Nothing New From Taft.**

The attitude of the audience (if this matter is important) seemed to reflect a certain eagerness to hear the truth, but a thirst for such information as would correctly guide the mind. If observers were correct it was an audience that represented opinion quite unformed, but seeking the facts necessary for conviction one way or another. Whatever the President did or did not do, he certainly failed to provide this hoped for, anticipated information.

Nor did Mr. Taft contribute anything new, as may be gathered perhaps from a survey of his address. He repeated the main points already made in the League of Nations Senate by the few defenders of the British-Wilson plan that have arisen in the body. One of his comments caught the ear of the audience. He said it would be time to ask what effect the League would have on the Monroe Doctrine. He asked anybody found out what the Monroe Doctrine actually meant in these days. Mr. Taft spoke of the policy as if it were a shibboleth of no great consequence.

Both the President and his ally, the ex-President said that the League question was not a party question. Mr. Wilson asked if any party would dare to oppose the League of Nations. He seemed to have been taken by the managers of the meeting to give the appearance of a non-party gathering. Not only were Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft, but also the United States and the Stars and Stripes, but behind them, almost dramatically, were the flags of the League of Nations, which were not agreed in the past on political questions.

**Non-partisan Audience.**

On the stage among others were Gov. Al Smith and Ex-Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Frank L. Polk, Abram L. Ekus, Cleveland H. Dodge, Alfred E. Harding, Major John H. Dyer, David C. Hughes, Gen. Thomas H. Barry, Comptroller Charles Craig, Norman Haggard, Homer Cummings, Benjamin F. Strong, William F. Morgan, Martin M. V. York, Alton T. Parker, and others. Mr. Taft, Jacob H. Schiff, Francis P. Garvan, Enrico Caruso, William Church Osborn, Eugene H. O'Connell, Lawrence, and others. The League of Nations, which were not agreed in the past on political questions.

**Spirit Aired Their Foes.**

It was that they felt. It was that that awed them. It was that that made them feel that the League of Nations was not a party question, but a question of the future of the world. It was that that made them feel that the League of Nations was not a party question, but a question of the future of the world. It was that that made them feel that the League of Nations was not a party question, but a question of the future of the world.

**What the Flowers Meant.**

As we drove along the country roads weak old women would come out and hold flowers to us. Why should they hold flowers up to strangers from across the Atlantic? Only because they believed that we were the messengers of friendship and of hope, and that we were ready to make the supreme sacrifice for the peace of the world. It was that that made them feel that the League of Nations was not a party question, but a question of the future of the world.

**Explanations Needed.**

The only place a man can feel at home is where nothing has to be explained to him. Nothing has to be explained to me in America, least of all the sentiment of the American people. I mean about great fundamental things like this.

**President Receives Irishmen.**

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There are many differences of judgment as to policy—and perfectly legitimate. Sometimes profound differences of judgment, but those are not differences of sentiment, those are not differences of ideals. And the advantage of not having to have anything explained to you is that you recognize a wrong explanation when you hear it.

**See League Is Vital.**

Every man in that conference knows that the treaty of peace in itself will be no more than a piece of paper. It is the League of Nations that will transmit them, that the sentiment of the country is proof against such narrowness and such selfishness.

**The Soldiers' Temper.**

There can be no mercy where there is no hope, for why should you spare another if you yourself are perishing? Why should you be pitiful if you can get no pity? Why should you be just if upon every hand you are put upon?

**Are Gathering Heart.**

But what I believe—that I know as well as believe—that the men engaged in these conferences are gathering heart as they go, not losing it; that they are finding community of purpose and community of ideal to an extent that perhaps they did not expect; and that amidst all the interplay of complication—because it is infinitely complicated—amidst all the interplay of influence there is a forward movement which is running toward the right.

**Criticism Lack Generosity.**

I have heard no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion. I have heard nothing but a cry of "It is not dangerous to us to help the world." It would be fatal to us not to help it.

**What the Flowers Meant.**

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"The covenant of Paris bears on its face the evidence that it is the result of compromise; that it has been produced by an earnest effort of the President and other representatives of the nations who have won this war and thereby have made themselves responsible for future peace to adopt machinery which will not be a mere form, but a real force of the nations making the treaty can be directed to discouraging war."

## Limitation of Armaments.

"The first important covenant with reference to peace and war in the constitution of the league is that looking to the limitation of armaments. The executive council, consisting of a representative from the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and the League of Nations, each from four nations to be selected by the body of delegates, is to consider how much the armaments of nations should be limited and reduced, having regard to the safety of each of the nations and their obligations under the league."

"Having reached a conclusion as to the limit of armaments, each nation, in its own right, is to limit its armaments to the limit thus recommended, but it is to be understood that the limit is not to be a permanent one, but a temporary one, and the spirit of men are now in the saddle."

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A proposed resolution in the Senate recites that the constitution of the League of Nations in the form now proposed by the President is not in accordance with the spirit of the League of Nations, and that the Senate is not in a position to ratify the same.

**Notable Persons Are Seen in Boxes.**

Among the boxholders at the Metropolitan last night were Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to the President; Mayor Hylan, Jacob H. Schiff, ex-President William H. Taft, Frank L. Polk, Abram L. Ekus, Cleveland H. Dodge, Daniel G. Reid, Martin J. H. Lewis, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mrs. Charles D. Spenser, Gov. Alfred E. Smith, James W. Burke, George C. Fox, Charles M. Schwab, Thomas L. Chadbourne, Jr., Paul M. Warburg, Henry C. Carter, and others.